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BACKGROUND:

The difficult situation in Rwanda prompted the United Nations to convoke a special meeting of the Rwandan Operational Support Group at UN Headquarters in New York on Thursday, March 16. The agenda for that conference (attached) ticks off the key issues for the world community as it attempts to help stabilize the Rwandan situation.

There is a lot of bad news coming out of Rwanda these days.

On the one hand, there is evidence of an increasingly assertive and successful Tutsi hard line which does not want reconciliation with the Hutus. The deteriorating relations between the UN and the Government; intimidation and killing of moderate Hutus; the arrests of Hutus who return; the deadly conditions in the increasingly over-crowded prisons within Rwanda, and the violence in parts of the country could be part of a systematic effort to shape the country to a vision of Tutsi control.

On the other hand, attempts by the exiled Hutu leadership to conduct a violent campaign against the RPA government only encourage the Tutsi hard liners. This past week the Kigali government claimed to have broken up a Hutu band intent on placing bombs in the Kigali central market. The old leadership apparently retains its strong hold on the camps and intends to lead a Hutu restoration by force of arms. But the most likely outcome of this armed activity is a sufficient level of violence to make the case for the Tutsi "irreconcilables" but not enough of a military threat to force the Tutsi leadership to negotiate.

Predictably refugee/DP have reportedly slowed to a trickle. Indeed, for the first time in months the number of displaced persons arriving in Rwandan camps exceeded the outflow. The UNHCR in GOMA still is aiming to close the camps there by the end of the year, following large scale repatriation and movement of the residue to sites away from the border. The GOMA UNHCR maintains that the most important variable now for repatriation is security and reconciliation in Rwanda.

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Blank Check, Rubber Check

There are some who attribute the Tutsi intransigence to the failure of international assistance to materialize in some large, tangible way. Proponents of this view argue the hardliners are ridding a wave of resentment because the new government was given a rubber check by the donors. In fact, the Ad Hoc meeting in New York March 16 is going to discuss how to speed up aid deliveries to Kigali.

Others argue that the problem is that hard line Tutsis believe they can do as they wish following the generous promises which the Tutsis got from the donors earlier this year. The hardliners feel they can now pursue thier agenda of Tutsi domination. This is the blank check explanation for what is happening in Rwanda.

Both these theories have some validity. But what in fact is playing out in Rwanda is the another act in the bloody, no-quarters struggle between Tutsis and Hutus that began thirty years ago. But this as they say is a long term problem. We have short term requirements for action now.

ISSUES FOR DISCUSSION:

We must get the aid moving. The Rwandan government is broke and money is the only way to start fixing it. Donors need to find ways to disburse more rapidly and the GOR needs to ratify the World Bank emergency funding agreement to get that money moving quickly.

We must get Rwandans to understand that they have no blank check. When GOR behavior falls short -- as in the detention camps, in persecuting Hutus (as opposed to prosecuting the genocidal), sharply if necessary (as we are doing this week re the detention centers).

We need to maintain the presence of Human Rights Monitors. The 80 to 90 on the ground are reportedly proving effective. The hope is to have 140-50 and the GOR wants 300. Yet the fund supporting them is running out. We are seeing how we can add to our contribution of \$750,000. The Swedes have pledged a contribution of \$129,000 but as of Feb 10 they had not delivered. Have they delivered on their pledge? Can they do more?

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The food pipeline to the area must be kept filled. It is threatening to run dry. We have added some to our 1995 pledge to WFP and are accelerating deliveries. Early this month we had supplied 85% of the pledges for the region recieved by WFP. Given the lack of response by others, the short fall in pledges is some 350,000 tons, much bigger than we can handle, Critical shortages loom in the next few months and later. Can the Swedes help? Can they encourage the EU to step forward?

We need to encourage reconciliation. The GOR continues to resist our efforts to promote such a dialogue, even one that starts at a very low level and involves only civil society. Yet we must persevere in our contacts with the GOR on this score.

We must persue visible and effective justice for the perpetrators of the genocide. The UNSC has just passed a resolution encouraging governments to detain those against whom credible evidence of genocide exists. We want to encourage the International Tribunal to move quickly and effectively in this area. The Swedes might raise this with Goldstone and with other governments. They could also support the Tribunal(judges, prosecutors, cash), if they area not doing so already.

Justice in Rwanda must also be established. We, the French and the Belgians are particularly active in this field. The French reportedly are about to bring 20-30 francophone magistrates into the country. If we and the other donors can get at least some non-Rwandese judges and prosecutors on the ground in the immediate future it would encourage moderates.

We must do what we can to improve conditions in the detention centres in Rwanda which now hold perhaps 25,000. The UN, the ICRC the GOR and the Belgians are working on this one. Sites for additional camps have been identified. The Belgians have contributed some money. We don't know right now how much more is needed. We are not in a position to help (among other things we would have to use ESF, and the well is dry.)

Security conditions for refugee returns must improve. Mrs. Ogata's Zaire force is apparently doing well though it is still only a fraction of its planned size. But the GOR needs to take steps to make Rwanda more attractive for refugees, a question of will as well as of means and one that needs to be addressed in contacts with the GOR.

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ROSG Agenda

I. Review of Situation in Rwanda

- A) Assessment of recent trends and their implication.
- B) Detention Centers
- C) Food pipeline;
- D) Update of situation in refugee camps;

II. International Support for:

- A) International Tribunal
- B) National Judicial System
- C) Human Rights Monitors

III. International Assistance: Immediate Support for the Government;

IV. Other Business (Burundi)

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